1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
[p.936]

162 the municipal records, which probably are relatively complete and moderately accurate. The data have been worked up into tables 11 and 12 by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, one of the collaborators in the study.

TABLE 11.—*Births in Cherán, 1936-39*[1]

Year and month of birth	Total births	Boys	Girls	Percentage of boys	Percentage of girls
1936					
January	9	6	3	1.7	0.9
February	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
March	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
April	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
May	11	3	8	.9	2.3
June	26	11	15	3.2	4.4
July	23	11	12	3.2	3.5
August	21	12	9	3.5	2.6
September	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
October	9	2	7	.6	2.0
November	12	7	5	2.0	1.5
December	6	1	5	.3	1.5
1937					
January	3	2	1	.6	.3
February					
March	18	8	10	1.4	2.9
April	15	7	8	2.0	2.3
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	19	13	6	3.7	1.7
July	21	9	12	2.6	3.5
August	13	6	7	1.7	2.0
September	10	4	6	1.2	1.7
October	12	6	6	1.7	1.7
November	13	7	6	2.0	1.7
December	22	9	13	2.6	3.8
1938					
January	13	8	5	2.3	1.5
February	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
March	3	3	3	.9	.9
April	24	14	10	4.0	2.9
May	9	4	5	1.2	1.5
June	5	3	2	.9	.6
July	11	5	6	1.4	1.7
August	23	10	13	2.9	3.5
September	10	7	3	2.0	.9
October	13	5	7	1.4	2.0
November	10	3	7	.9	2.0
December	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
1939					
January	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
February	13	5	8	1.4	2.3
March	20	9	11	2.6	3.2
April	23	13	10	3.7	2.9
May	24	13	11	3.7	3.2
June	16	16	2	4.6	.6
July	22	13	9	3.7	2.6
August	18	11	7	3.2	2.0
September	15	4	11	1.2	3.2
October	16	9	7	2.6	2.0
November	17	7	10	2.0	2.9
December	14	8	6	2.3	1.7
Total	680	347	343	100.0	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

163 Birth records are probably correct for all live births. There is some possibility that many stillbirths were not reported either in the birth statistics or the death statistics. Although a [686] fine is levied against persons known to have buried a still-born child without registering the fact in the *municipio*, the fine is nominal, and municipal authorities believe that probably the majority of stillbirths are not reported.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p.94a]

163 For the years 1936–39, inclusive, there were 690 registered births in Cherán. The sex ratio was very nearly 1:1, with 347 male births and 343 female births. The distribution is shown in table 11. It is of interest that great excess of female births occurred in 1936, reaching a peak in June of that year, while a considerable excess of male births occurred in 1939, also reaching a peak in June.

TABLE 12.—*Marriages in Cherán, 1937-39*[1]

585
582

Age of married person	Married men		Married women	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
13			3	2.0
14	1	0.7	23	15.4
15	2	1.3	49	32.9
16	12	8.1	26	17.4
17	8	5.4	9	6.0
18	32	21.5	6	4.0
19	12	8.1	2	1.3
20	15	10.1	3	2.0
21	5	3.4		
22	10	6.7		
23	5	3.4	2	1.3
24			2	1.3
25	9	6.0	5	3.4
26	5	3.4	1	.7
27	1	.7		
28	5	3.4	3	2.0
30	3	2.0	2	1.3
31	1	.7		
32	2	1.3		
35	4	2.7	2	1.3
37	2	1.3	1	.7
38	1	.7		
39			1	.7
40	4	2.7	2	1.3
45	3	2.0	3	2.0
47	1	.7		
48			1	.7
53	1	.7		
55	1	.7	1	.7
60	2	1.3	2	1.3
80	1	.7		
82	1	.7		
Total	149	100.0	149	100.0

[1] Data prepared by Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, Mexico.

Data on the 149 marriages for 1937, 1938, and 1939 are shown in table 12. The age data are subject to the same probable inaccuracy in age estimates as is the case with the data on adult men. However, inasmuch as many Cherán residents are today sensitive about the early age of marriages and it is known that the ages given for young persons about to be married are often exaggerated, the data underscore the early age of marriage. In round numbers, 2 percent of girls married were only 13, 15 percent were 14, 32 percent were 15, 17 percent were 16, and 6 percent were 17. Only 2 percent of girls married were aged 20. It is significant that no marriages were recorded for girls aged 21 or 22. In all probability all, or nearly all, marriages recorded after this age were remarriages.

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34 Sierra Tarascans

163 842 165

TABLE 13.—*Fertility of Okeredi women*[1]

Number of births per woman	Number of women	Living children per woman	Number of women	Deceased children per woman	Number of women	Male births per woman	Number of women	Female births per woman	Number of women	Male children living per woman	Number of women	Female children living	Number of women
1	1	0	3	0	4	1	6	1	13	1	17	1	15
2	6	1	15	1	14	2	20	2	7	2	15	2	12
3	6	2	7	2	12	3	10	3	17	3	6	3	1
4	9	3	15	3	9	4	6	4	6	4	1	4	0
5	10	4	5	4	5	5	6	5	2	5	1	5	1
6	10	5	3	5	2	6	1	6	1	6	0	6	1
7	4	6	0	6	2	7	0	7	0				
8	3	7	1	7	1	8	1	8	0				
9	4			8	0								
10	0			9	1								
11	1												
(Average) 5.2 per woman		(Average) 2.7 per woman											

[1] Based on interviews with 83 women past child-bearing age. In the data on male and female births, the sex of 8 children was not remembered.

TABLE 14.—*Deaths by age groups in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*

MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Age in years	1936												1938												1939												1940								Totals			
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Under 1 year	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	4	1	25	23	22	13	83
1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
4	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
5	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
6	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
7	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
8	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
9	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
10	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
11	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
12+	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	8	44
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	8	3	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	8	2	17	12	16	29	26	10	8	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	8	7	8	10	6	4	8	9	9	8	80	147	103	33	363

TABLE 15.—*Deaths according to sex in 1936, 1938, 1939, and part of 1940*

MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Sex	1936												1938												1939												1940								Totals			
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Male	1	2	3	3	3	3	4	1	2	3	3	4	5	7	6	5	1	6	1	10	7	8	17	14	6	5	6	7	5	1	5	6	6	7	5	4	5	6	3	2	5	6	6	5	37	87	57	23	204
Female	2	4	3	3	5	4	4	2	1	1	1	2	4	4	6	2	0	2	1	7	5	8	12	12	4	3	5	8	4	1	3	3	4	5	3	3	3	4	3	2	3	3	3	3	43	60	46	10	159
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	8	3	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	8	2	17	12	16	29	26	10	8	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	8	7	8	10	6	4	8	9	9	8	80	147	103	33	363

582 The earliest age recorded for married males
585 is 14, this age group comprising 0.7 percent of the total male marriages. However, there is reason to believe that the age of males is falsified at marriage more than that of females. Most marriages, according to the statistics, take place at 16 or after; 8 percent of males marry at the age of 16. Five percent were married at 17, 21 percent at 18, 8 percent at 19, and 10 percent at 20. None were married at age 24, but 6 percent were married at 25. Some marriages listed at this age are probably remarriages, and certainly few first marriages take place after 25. The emphasis placed upon marriage as a normal state is indicated by the considerable age of some persons married. Two women and two men are shown as married at 60, while one man is shown as married at 80 and another at 82.

No particular season of marriage preference is evident if marriage frequencies are analyzed by months, despite assertions that most marriages take place in the winter after harvest. Evidently marriages take place when people have resources, regardless of the time of year. The fluctuations from year to year probably could be accounted for in terms of variable economic conditions. It must be remembered that the month of marriage reported is the time of the civil registry and church wedding. Probably the majority of marriages are consummated before these events.

In addition to the statistical data, even earlier marriages are believed to take place. One girl, whose age was alleged by several people independently to be only 15, had four children. Gossip told of another case of a girl of 10 years who was "half married," that is, the groom's parents did not yet permit him to sleep with his wife. But at the age of 14 the girl was said to have had two children. Before the Tarascans are censured for the practice of such early marriages, it should be born in mind that Bishop Quiroga, who had so much influence on the Tarascans, in his ordinances authorized the marriage of boys over 14 and girls over 12 (Arriaga, 1938).

● 113 Data on family composition and fertility
842 were obtained by interviews with 53 families where the wife was 47 years of age or older and had not borne children recently (table 13).

[text continues on p. 947]

163 842 The data again are not entirely reliable because of a tendency not to count deceased children until urged. Almost always emotion was manifested upon recalling a specific child. Women were more commonly able to supply the names of deceased children. It is the impression of the interviewers that the data presented are fairly accurate for all children baptised but that stillbirths and perhaps death before baptism were not counted.[28]

Although most Cherán informants believed families were small through the small number of childbirths, the data indicate an average of 5.2 births per woman. No case of a childless woman was encountered in interviewing, although some exist in Cherán. If the failure to report stillbirths is taken into account, it is probable that Cherán women would rank fairly high in fertility. The small family size consequently is due to deaths rather than to lack of births. Data from the same families indicated only 2.7 children living at the time the data were collected, indicating nearly half of all children born had already died. The data are summarized in table 13.

165 Data on deaths for the years 1936, 1938, 1939, and part of 1940 are given in tables 14, 15, and 16. As might be expected, the highest death rate is in children under 1 year of age (probably higher than shown when unrecorded stillbirths are taken into account). The second highest rate is in the period from 1 to 9 years of age. For adults, the periods from 30 to 39 years and 60 to 69 years appear to be the most critical. Again, however, ages are only estimates and must not be considered as accurate.

165 753 The table of deaths by causes (table 16) should be considered primarily of interest in showing the disease concepts prevalent in Cherán. There were no doctors in Cherán at the time these data were collected. Generally, the cause of death was provided by the relative registering the death, at the insistence of the Secretary that he had to put down something for his records to the State authorities. [164] Epidemics of whooping cough and smallpox are clearly recorded, however.

[858] [28] In taking a house census at Sevina, a neighboring town, the interviewers called attention to the fact that a babe in arms had not been included in the household total. Said the grandfather: "That one is too new. One hardly knows yet whether it lives or dies, so we do not count it."